2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

family, to his community, and to the total of the Balinese people in a relationship that represents race and nationality to them. A woman who marries a Chinese, a Mohammedan, or a European automatically ceases to be a Balinese.

A Balinese feels that his most important duty is to marry as soon as he comes of age and to raise a family to perpetuate his line. A bachelor is in Bali an abnormal, incomplete being devoid of all social significance since only settled married men can become members of the village association. Even *pedandas*, the high priests, do not conform to the ascetic abstention favoured by orthodox Hindus and invariably marry.

Thus every Balinese centres all his hopes in having children, preferably male children, who will look after him in his old age, and, most important of all, sons who will take the proper care of his remains after he is dead, performing the necessary rites to liberate his soul for reincarnation, so it will not become an aimless wandering ghost. From paintings and temple reliefs, they are familiar with the fate that awaits the childless in Hades, the *swarga*, where a woman who dies without children is condemned to carry a gigantic worm suckling at her useless breasts. A man who does not obtain children from his wife has the right to divorce her and get back the money he paid for her; or if she dies or runs away, he remarries as soon as possible. Often the sterile wife will herself suggest and even provide for a second wife for her husband. There are, however, many childless couples that because of personal attachment or for economic reasons remain monogamous and are content to borrow or rather be given a child by a neighbour or a relative to bring up as their own.

CHILDBIRTH

To follow the development of their sexual life we shall begin the cycle of birth, childhood, adolescence, marriage, and birth again, with the event of pregnancy, a great blessing to every Balinese household.

Most people we talked to had a quite correct idea of the physi-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

classic technique for dramatic performances. Stories from the *Malat*, with much singing. Other plays of a similar character are the *tantri*, *tjupak*, *basur*, and *parwa*.

ARDJA *Gamelan ardja*; flutes and percussions. The *ardja* is a modernized *gambúh* playing romantic stories like *Tjandra Lasan*, *Salya*, *Sidapaksa*, *Galolikuh*, and Chinese tales like *Sampik* and *Tuan Wei*.

BARONG LANDONG *Gamelan batél*; flutes and gongs. Giant puppets of a religious character, playing humorous stories, the adventures of an old woman (*djero lúh*) and a black giant (*djero gedé*).

DJANGER *Gamelan djanger*; flute, gong, and drums. A modern musical comedy with many foreign elements, performed by boys and girls.

KETJAK Large groups of men singing in chorus, moving and dancing to the rhythm of the music. Occasionally performing episodes of plays. Derived from the *sanghyang* and *djanger*.

All these forms will be described later, divided for easier recognition according to our custom under the headings of "dance," "plays," "opera," and so forth, by their most characteristic features.

Like music, dancing has developed to a standard of technical perfection that makes of it a difficult science, requiring years of special physical training and practice. Although strict rules are followed and the structure of the dance is made up entirely of traditional gestures that leave no room for improvisation or individualistic styles, there is a certain margin of freedom allowed for the dancer. Sound and gesture become one, definite movements ruled by the most rigid discipline. The excellence of a performer does not depend only on his skill, but also on his personality, his emotional intensity, and the expressiveness of his features. Only clowns (*bebanyolan*) have no special technique and no program. Personality and the spirit of surprise are expected of them.

Obviously there is Javanese influence discernible in the Balinese school of dancing, but they have drifted so far apart in spirit and in social function that they have little in common today. In Bali dancing is still a living popular art, while in Java, where

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

ple in terms of which this intersection must be formed. The analysis of village structure therefore consists in first discriminating the organizational planes of significance and then describing the manner in which, in actual fact, they intersect.

In Bali, seven such planes are of major significance, based on: (1) shared obligation to worship at a given temple, (2) common residence, (3) ownership of rice land lying within a single watershed, (4) commonality of ascribed social status or caste, (5) consanguineal and affinal kinship ties, (6) common membership in one or another "voluntary" organization, and (7) common legal subordination to a single government administrative official. In the following paper, I will first analyze each of these planes of organization, then describe three villages as examples of differing modes of intersection of these planes, and finally offer a discussion of some of the theoretical implications of this type of village organization.

PLANES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. *Shared obligation to worship at a given temple.* Bali is a land of temples. One sees them everywhere—under the village banyan tree, in the midst of rice fields, by waterfalls, in the centers of large towns, by a graveyard, at the sea edge, on a lake island, in every houseyard, at the mountain top—everywhere; of all sizes and in all conditions of repair; all or most showing the traditional form: the high brick walls, the intricately carved split gate, the tall pagoda-like altars with their storeyed thatched roofs.[2] And there are no ruins in Bali: to each of these thousands of temples there is attached both an hereditary priest and a definite congregation of worshipers obligated to perform detailed ritual activities within its walls at fixed intervals, most commonly every six months. Such a congregation is said to *njungsung* the temple—literally "to carry it on its head, as women carry nearly everything in Bali, including the elaborate offerings they bring to the temples on festival days.[3] Every family in Bali, unless it be Christian or Moslem, carries at least a half dozen temples called *pura* on its head.

Of the great variety of pura, by far the most important to the Balinese are the *Kahyangan-Tiga*. Kahyangan is an honorific word for temple (meaning literally "place of the gods"), indicating a pura of unusual importance, and *tiga* means three—thus, "the three great temples." There are probably over a thousand sets of such temples in Bali, with membership ranging from fifty up to several thousand families; the three temples concerned in any particular locality are the *Pura Puseh*, or origin temple, theoretically the temple built at the time of the first settlement of the area; the *Pura Dalam*, or graveyard temple for the spirits of the local dead; and the *Pura Balai Agung*, or "great council temple" (of the gods), dedicated primarily to maintaining the fertility of the surrounding rice fields. At the first two of these temples festivals are held once in every 210-day Balinese year, at the third once in a lunar year, the specific days depending upon the tradition of the individual temples. At such festival times the gods are conceived to descend from heaven, remain for three